

URBAR PAVLINSKOGA SAMOSTANA U STREZI 1477. GODINE

THE URBAR (FEUDAL LAW REGULATION ON SERFDOM DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS) OF THE PAULINE CONVENT STREZA IN 1477

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Sažetak

Oko 1370. godine osnovan je pavlin-ski samostan u Strezi. Kraljevom donacijom, a i kasnijim darivanjima i legatima uglednih ljudi, taj je samostan postao središte velikog crkvenog posjeda. Zahvaljujući odredbi priora Pavla, 1477. godine izrađen je urbar koji određuje gotovo sve odnose između samostanskih podanika i uprave samostana. Taj je urbar najdragocjeniji takav izvor za sjevernu Hrvatsku iz druge polovice 15. stoljeća. Kroz urbar se uočavaju, među ostalima, i odnosi koji proistječu od nemirnih vremena kada osmanlijska opasnost ugrožava mirnu obradu zemlje.

Ključne riječi: pavlini, Streza, crkveni veleposjed, Podravina.

Summary

Around the year 1370, a Pauline convent was established in Streza. Starting off at first as a king's donation, and later on supported by legates from well-established citizens and other legacies, this convent became a center of a huge church estate. Thanks to a decree of its prior Paul in 1477, an urbar (feudal law regulation on serfdom duties and obligations) was drafted, which regulated almost all relations between the convent's inhabitants and the convent's leaders. This regulation is the most important and precious source of historic data for northern Croatia from the second half of 15th century. This regulation helps us learn of other relations from those unsettling times, when the Ottomans endangered peaceful land farming of the region.

Key words: Pauline order, Streza, church estate, Podravina.

Uvod

Osmanlije su prvi put provalili u naše krajeve vjerojatno već 1396. kada su poslije poraza kršćanske vojske kod Nikopolja provalili sve do Štajerske. Njihovi povremeni upadi remetili su mirni život, ali je stanovništvo ipak ustrajalo u življenju, sklanjajući se u zbjegove ili u utvrde i ponovno nastavljajući život nakon odlaska upadača. Tek poslije Mohačke bitke 1526., a osobito poslije prolaska sultanove vojske nakon opsade Kisega 1532., cijeli je kraj, osim koprivničke i đurđevačke utvrde te utvrđene crkve Prođavića (Virja), ostao bez stanovništva, s time da je nešto starog stanovništva preživjelo u močvarama uz Dravu čekajući bolja vremena.

Danas u Podravini nema drugih samostana osim franjevačkih.

No, nije uvijek bilo tako. Obrovački kastelan Ivan Bissen osnovao je 1374.¹ samostan hrvatskih pavlina u Strezi (danas Pavlin Kloštar u župi Kapeli) i bogato ga nadario već u početku. Ludovik I. je 9. travnja 1379. potvrdio tu darovnicu, spominjući da je Ivan Bissen sagradio crkvu Svih Svetih i samostan za spas svoje duše i da je posjed bogato nadario odmah, a darivao ga je i kasnije. U drugoj listini od 5. veljače 1381. navedeno je da je taj samostan već posjedovao do 300 jutara oranica. Posjed samostana darivao je i

Introduction

The Ottomans probably broke in for the first time in these regions as early as 1396, when they had defeated the Christian armies near Nikopolj, invading the regions all up to the today's Steyermark. Their occasional breaking entries disturbed the quiet life of population, yet the local inhabitants persevered and remained in these regions. They had fled as refugees to other areas or would seek shelter inside fortifications, but nevertheless returned to their homes after the invasion was over, continuing with life in the same areas. Only after the Mohacs battle in 1526, and in particular after the sultan's armies trampled over the Kisege fortification in 1532, did the local population (all but Koprivnica and Đurđevac fortifications and Prođavić/Virje church) gave in, leaving the area depopulated. Still, some of the old population survived in the swamps nearby Drava river, waiting for better times to come.

Today, Podravina has no convents but the Franciscans'.

But, it was not always so. Obrovac fortification commander Ivan Bissen established in 1374¹ a convent of Croatian Pauline order in Streza (today's Pavlin Kloštar, Kapela parish). He gave donations and legacies to the convent, right from the start. On 9 April, 1379 the king Ludovicus I. confirmed this legate, stating that Ivan Bissen built a church of All Saints and a convent to save his soul, bestowing upon it legates right from the start and continuing with donations and legacies. The second document to prove this was dated 5 February, 1381 where it was established that the convent had already owned some 300 acres of plough fields. The convent received a donation

¹ Ivan Krstitelj TKALČIĆ, "Urbare bivšega hrvatskog pavlinskog samostana u Strezi", Vjesnik hrvatskog zemaljskog arhiva, V, Zagreb, 1903., 201. Prema Nadi Klaić samostan je nastao oko 1370. (Nada KLAJČ, "O razvitku feudalne rente u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji u XV. i XVI. st., Radovi Odsjeka za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta, 3, Zagreb 1960., 45.; Ista, "Koprivnica u srednjem vijeku," Koprivnica 1987, 96 i d.).

¹ Ivan Krstitelj TKALČIĆ "Streza Pauline convent's urbar", Vjesnik hrvatskog zemaljskog arhiva (Croatian state archives), V, Zagreb, 1903, 201. According to Nada Klaić, the convent had been founded around 1370 (Nada KLAJČ: "On feudal rent development in Croatia and Slavonia in 15th and 16th century, Papers submitted at history department of University of Zagreb school of liberal arts, 3, Zagreb, 1960, 45; the same author, "Koprivnica in middle ages", Koprivnica, 1987, 96 et al.)

Bissenov sin Petar 1398., a to je potvrdio kralj Sigismund 1412. određivši da od svih njima darovanih posjeda i naseljenih kmetova ubiru pavlini cijelu desetinu: žitnu, vinsku, prinos od svinja te da su im kmetovi dužni darovane posjede o svom trošku obrađivati.² I kasnije je samostan darivan posjedima. Tako se 1418. spominje neki Tomo, sin Mihaljev, koji je oporučno ostavio samostanu zemlju među potocima Konjskom i Plavnicom, tj. posjed Plavnicu, Sv. Benedik, Domjanovec, Duškovec, Bikalju i Kačinec. Godine 1422. Stjepan, sin Ivanov, ostavio je samostanu šest kmetskih selišta u Klokočevcu ili Podbukovinji, a taj klokočevački posjed uvećala je Jaga, kći Stjepana Gulića, ostavivši oporučno samostanu i svoj posjed Mikčevac koji se nastavlja na Klokočevac. Godine 1439. plemić Brcko, sin topolovačkoga kastelana Andrije, oporučno je ostavio samostanu posjed Jakopovec. Godine 1449. plemkinja Ana, kći Ilke Klokočevačke, darovala je samostanu djedovinu ležeću u Mikčevcu. Godine 1451. Ilka, udovica Nikole Konjskoga, darovala je samostanu svojih pet zemljišta. Magdalena, udovica Hansa i kasnije Luke kastelana Kamengradskoga, oporučno je 6. ožujka 1458. ostavila samostanu deset kmetskih selišta u Kamenom (Kuvar), s vinogradom, dakle svakako u varoši koja se nalazila negdje između današnjih sela Reke i Starigrada.³ Malo zatim dobili su pavlini kao zadužbinu i mlin na potoku Koprivnici.⁴ Darovanja su slijedila i kasnije. Godine 1461. plemić Ladislav, sin Antuna Korena darovao je samostanu tri kmetska selišta u Bikalji, a iste su godine Jelena, kći Tome, i Dora, kći Grge

from Bissen's son Petar in 1398, which was later confirmed by the king Sigismund in 1412, who ordered that the Pauline order be awarded one-tenth of all crops from serfs who settled on given lands. This one-tenth tax included wheat crops, vineyard crops and pork meat as well, plus the serfs' free work and cultivation of land.²

Later period also documents new donations and legates to the convent. There is a document, dating 1418, in which an individual named Tomo, son of Mihalj, willed his lands (a plot of land between the creeks Konjska and Plavnica; Plavnica estate; St. Benedict, Domjanovec; Duškovec; Bikalja; Kačinec) to the convent in his last will and testament. In 1422; Stjepan (son of Ivan) willed his six serfs' homesteads in Klokočevac or Podbukovinja; the same Klokočevac estate was later on enlarged and willed by Jaga (daughter of Stjepan Gulić), who willed in her testament the lands of Mikčevac estate, that were bordering on Klokočevac. In 1439, a nobleman Brcko, son of Topolovac castle governor Andrija, willed his estate Jakopovec to the convent. In 1449, a noblewoman Ana (daughter of Ilka Klokočevačka) willed to the convent her inherited lands in Mikčevac, left to her by her grandfather. In 1451, Ilka, widow of Nikola Konjski, donated her five lands to the convent. On 6 March, 1458 Magdalena, widow of Hans, and later of Luka (castle governor of Kamengrad) willed her ten serfs' homesteads in Kamenom (Kuvar) with vineyards, somewhere between today's villages Reka and Starigrad.³ Later on, the same Paulines were endowed a water-mill on Koprivnica creek too.⁴ More legates were to come: in 1461 a nobleman Ladislav, son of Antun Koren, donated to the convent his three serfs' homesteads in Bikalja; the same year Jelena, (daughter of Tomo), and Dora (daughter of Grge,

² I. K. TKALČIĆ, 201.

³ Ranko PAVLEŠ, "Koprivničko i đurđevačko vlastelinstvo. Povijest, topografija, organizacija", Koprivnica, 2001., 86.

⁴ I. K. TKALČIĆ, 202. Usp. i R. PAVLEŠ, 81 i 84. Oko ovog darivanja vodila se duga parnica jer ga je trebalo izdvojiti iz sastava koprivničkog vlastelinstva, te je spor riješen nagodbom župe Sv. Emerike i samostana 11. rujna 1459.

² I.K.TKALČIĆ, 201.

³ Ranko PAVLEŠ, "Koprivnica and Đurđevac nobility, history, topography, organization", Koprivnica, 201

⁴ I.K. TKALČIĆ, 202 and R.PAVLEŠ, 81, 84 A long dispute was held about this particular legate, as it had to be separated from Koprivnica nobility; the dispute was resolved by a settlement between St. Emerich parish and the convent, on 11 September, 1459.

plemića Plavničkih, darovale samostanu pet kmetskih selišta, šumu, mlin i jedan dio svog plemićkog dvora u Horvatovčini. Te je godine Mijoj sin Gjuro Kandala, ostavio samostanu dva selišta u Kandalovcu, a plemić Ladislav, sin Tome Mora, darovao im je dio svog posjeda u Mateševčini, dajući im na smrti 1468. i cijeli taj posjed te šumu Dijankovec s jednim selištem. Katarina, kći Elizabete, i Barbara, kći Stjepana, darovale su samostanu u Strezi četvrtinu mlina.⁵ Osim darovanjima, bijeli fratri u Strezi su posjed uvećavali i kupnjom, te su tako 1467. kupili drugi dio posjeda Klokočevca za 218 forinti.⁶

Darivanjima i kupnjama nastao je vrlo velik crkveni posjed koji je trebalo obrađivati, a Hrvatski sabor, održan 1475. u Rovišću, oslobodio ga je od svake daće i državnih tereta. Samostan je, dakle, stekao sve uvjete da se razvije u snažno samostansko i kulturno središte toga dijela Hrvatske.

Međutim, od samostana danas nije ostalo ništa, osim imena Pavlin Kloštar za kraj Bjelovara, pa i to pogrešno, jer je pavline narod na tim prostorima nazivao remetama.⁷ Pred osmanlijskim napadima pavlini su se povukli u druge svoje samostane, ustupivši cijeli posjed Varaždinskoj krajini i vojsci. Prava je sreća što su pri tom ponijeli, osim dragocjenosti i crkvenog ruha, i svoje spise, koji su danas neprocjenjivo blago za proučavanje Podravine, iako su još neistraženi i nedovoljno znanstveno eksploatirani.

Uloga hrvatskih pavlina, nakon što su tijekom 13. stoljeća prešli iz pustinjačkog reda u samostanski, iznimno je važna za sveukupni razvitak društvenih odnosa. Umjesto siromaštva, oni su počeli djelovati pragmatično, baveći se

of the Plavnički nobility) donated five serfs' homesteads, a forest, a water-mill and a part of their Horvatovščina manor; the same year Mijo (son of Gjuro Kandal) donated two serfs' homesteads in Kandalovec to the convent; a nobleman Ladislav (son of Tomo Mora) donated a part of his estate in Mateševčina; on his deathbed, he gave away the entire estate to the same convent, plus a Dijankovec forest with one homestead; Katarina (daughter of Elizabeta) and Barbara (daughter of Stjepan) donated to the convent in Streza a quarter of a water-mill.⁵

Beside legates and donations, the white-robed friars in Streza enlarged their estate by further purchases of land (in 1467 they bought the remaining part of Klokočevac manor for the price of 218 forint.⁶

In time, legates and purchases provided the friars with a very large church estate, which needed farmhands; luckily, Croatian parliament session, held in Rovišće in 1475, released the convent from any tax obligations and made them exempt from any other toll. This enabled the convent to develop, not only as a church organization, but as a strong cultural institution of this part of Croatia too.

However, nothing remains of it now, except the name Pavlin Kloštar (Pauline Cloister). Even that name is wrong, as Pauline order members in this region were called different - "remete".⁷ Retreating from the Ottoman attacks, the Pauline flew to their other locations and convents, leaving their entire estate to Varaždin captaincy and the military. It was fortunate that they managed to take with them all their treasures, canonic robes and their records. Today, these are invaluable artifacts to help us study Podravina. Yet, all this is still largely unexplored, with insufficient scientific research of these treasures.

After they had made a transition in 13th century, from a hermit order into a convent order, the Croatian Paulines became very important for overall social development and progress. Instead

⁵ R. PAVLEŠ, 81.

⁶ I. K. TKALČIĆ, 202.

⁷ R. PAVLEŠ, 86.

⁵ R. PAVLEŠ, 81.

⁶ I. K. TKALČIĆ, 202.

⁷ R. PAVLEŠ, 86.

unapređivanjem gospodarstva, prosvjete, znanosti i umjetnosti. Njihovi samostani postaju važan sudionik feudalizacije društveno-ekonomskih odnosa u hrvatskom etničkom prostoru, a pavlinski je red ne samo u Ugarskoj i Poljskoj nego i u Hrvatskoj prvorazredni politički subjekt, značajan za borbu s patarenima u Bosni, ali i s Osmanlijama.⁸

Razvoj pavlinskog samostana nasilno je prekinut te on nije mogao izvršiti onaj utjecaj koji je vršio u Lepoglavi i njezinoj okolini, niti se mogao razviti u važan kulturni i školski centar. Njegova djelatnost ima ponajviše gospodarsko obilježje i dalje se nije razvio. Da je bila riječ o važnom gospodarskom centru, znamo na osnovi očuvane arhivske građe samostana u Strezi, koja nam i omogućava spoznaju da je domet njegova djelovanja obuhvaćao bjelovarsko, koprivničko i đurđevačko područje.

Iako je samostan u Strezi nepovratno iščezao, ipak nam je ostavio nešto iznimno vrijedno, čega su povjesničari postali svjesni već početkom 20. stoljeća. To je njegov urbar, nastao u osnovi oko 1477. godine po nalogu priora samostana Sviju Svetih u Strezi, Pavla, na četrdesetnicu.⁹ Taj urbar je svakako jedan od najdragocjenijih dokumenata sjeverozapadne Hrvatske.¹⁰ Nešto slično imamo samo u urbaru benediktinskog samostana u Gornjem gradu u Ljubljani, čiji je urbar iz 1426. godine temeljito obrađen i detaljno analiziran.¹¹ Urbar iz Streze privukao je pozornost povjesničara. Povjesničar Ivan Krstitelj Tkalić objavio je dvije godine prije smrti, tj. 1903., urbar pavlinskog samostana na jeziku originala (latinski) s kraćim predgovorom i bez komentara.¹² I Kamilo Dočkal održavao je svojim pisanjem interes za

of sticking to poverty vows, they started off with a more pragmatic approach, managing land and estates, taking active part in education, science and arts. Their convents became important factors in feudalisation of socio - economic relations in Croatian ethnic areas, and Pauline order itself a primary political subject not only in Hungary and Poland, but in Croatia too. This helped them fight the Patrenes in Bosnia, as well as the Ottomans.⁸

Further growth and development of the Pauline convent here was forcefully interrupted in the end, and it could not provide as great influence as it did in Lepoglava and its greater area. Neither it developed further into an important cultural and educational center. Its activity was mostly restricted to economic activities and kept within those limits. Based on preserved archive records of Streza convent, however, we have evidence that the convent's activities widely covered the areas of Bjelovar, Koprivnica and Đurđevac.

Although Streza convent is irreversibly gone, it still left something outstandingly valuable and extraordinary, which historians already realized in early 20th century. This is an urbar dating from around 1477, when the All Saints convent's prior Paul of Streza, during lent ordered a feudal legislation document to be drafted.⁹ This urbar is certainly one of the most valuable documents of northwestern Croatia.¹⁰ We have a similar document in 1426 urbar of a Benedictine convent of Ljubljana's Gornji grad, and this urbar was well-analyzed and processed in detail.¹¹ Yet, Streza urbar has intrigued historians too. In 1903, a historian Ivan Krstitelj Tkalić, just 2 years before he died, had published the urbar with a brief foreword and no further comments in Latin, the original language it had been drafted on.¹² Another

⁸ Vladimir MALEKOVIĆ, "Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244. - 1786.". U katalogu Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244 - 1786., Zagreb 1989., 13.

⁹ Fran HRNČIĆ, "Urbur pavlinskog samostana u Strezi iz g. 1477.", Hrvatska prošlost, 2, Zagreb, 1940., 171.

¹⁰ R. PAVLEŠ, 85.

¹¹ Ferdo GESTRIN, "Gospodarska in socialna struktura gornjegrajske posesti po urbaru leta 1426.", Zgodovinski časopis (Kosov zbornik), VI - VII, Ljubljana, 1952. - 1953., 473 - 513.

¹² I. K. TKALČIĆ, str. 203 - 219.

⁸ Vladimir MALEKOVIĆ, "Pauline culture in Croatia 1244 - 1786", Catalog "Pauline culture in Croatia 1244 - 1786", Zagreb, 1989, 13.

⁹ Fran HRNČIĆ, "Streza Pauline convent's urbar of 1477", Croatian past, 2, Zagreb, 1940, 171.

¹⁰ R. PAVLEŠ, 85.

¹¹ Ferdo GESTRIN, "Economic and social structure in 1477 urbar", Zgodovinski časopis magazine, (Kos collection), VI - VII, Ljubljana, 1952 - 1953, 473 - 513.

¹² I. K. TKALČIĆ, 203 - 219.

utjecaj tog samostana na bilogorsko-podravskom području te se gotovo sva povijest toga kraja u vrijeme djelovanja ovog samostana zasniva na njegovoj očuvanoj građi.¹³

Samostan u Strezi je nastao na feudalnom veleposjedu velikom donacijom, ali se i proširivao - kako smo vidjeli - legatima pobožnih plemića, pa su davanja njegovih podložnika samostanu neujednačena jer su se zadržale i obaveze podložnika prijašnjih vlasnika. Od skromnog posjeda, samostan u Strezi se povećavao legatima, ali i kupnjom, pa je zapravo bio konglomerat zemljišnih parcela od različitih nadarbina i kupnji. Tako je rastao i broj kmetova. Godine 1420. bilo ih je samo 20, 1446. godine ih je 29, a 1461. već 71 bez kmetova u Kamenom.¹⁴

Urbari su najvredniji i najpouzdaniji izvor za upoznavanje odnosa između vlastele i seljaka kmetova. Urbari su se održali sve do 18. stoljeća kada su car Karlo i carica Marija Terezija naredili da se urbari unificiraju na razini kraljevina, pa su tada izrađeni hrvatski i slavonski urar, odnosno unificirani hrvatski urbar Marije Terezije.

Urbari nam daju objašnjenje kako je gospodarski i socijalno funkcioniralo feudalno društvo čija je baza bila poljoprivreda. Usporedbom urbara možemo doći do zanimljivih zaključaka zašto je na nekom veleposjedu bilo mnogo napuštenih selišta, a na drugom ih nije bilo. Odlučujuću ulogu u tome igraju ne samo subjektivne nego i objektivne okolnosti, ratne prilike, bolesti, društveni odnosi i sl.

one, Kamilo Bočkal, showed interest in this urban and its influence on Bilogora/Podravina region; almost entire history data of the region are based on this historian's archives.¹³

Streza convent has originally emerged as a large feudal estate legate, but it was being expanded by donations of God-fearful nobility. This is why taxes and contributions from different estate portions were uneven, as the estate serfs and subjects were kept in the form and quantity their previous owners had been given right to. The original small and humble convent in Streza throughout years did not only expand from legates and donations - the Paulines also purchased lands, too. It eventually became a conglomerate of land plots, acquired through legates and purchases. The same way its number of serfs increased.

In 1420, there had been only 20, in 1446 29 serfs, and in 1461 there were 71 serfs (not including serfs in Kamen).¹⁴

So far, the urban documents have been the most valuable and reliable source in determining relations between nobility and their serfs and peasants. As feudal law regulations, urbans managed to remain in use all the way up to 18th century, when the king Karlo and the empress Marija Terezija ordered that urbans be unified throughout the kingdom, which led to Croatian and Slavonian urban drafting, or rather, an unified Croatian urban of Marija Terezija.

Urbars do not explain how this feudal society, based on agriculture, functioned in economic and social ways. By comparing various urbans, we can come up to interesting conclusions, i.e. why certain estates had lots of deserted homesteads, while others did not. Determining roles in this process were subjective, but with some objective circumstances, like ongoing wars, diseases, social relations, etc.

¹³ Kamilo DOČKAL, "Srednjovjekovna naselja oko Streze", *Starine JAZU*, 46, Zagreb 1958. Svakako treba spomenuti i već više puta citiranu knjigu R. Pavleša.

¹⁴ Josip ADAMČEK, "Pavlina i njihovi feudalni posjedi", U katalogu *Kultura pavlina*, n. dj., 44 - 45, 48.

¹³ Kamilo DOČKAL, "Medieval settlements around Streza", *Starine JAZU* (Old volumes, Yugoslav academy of sciences and arts), 46, Zagreb, 1958. Already quoted book by R. Pavleš should be mentioned in this context too.

¹⁴ Josip ADAMČEK, "Paulines and their feudal estates", Catalog *"Culture of Pauline order"*, 44 - 45, 48.

Urbar u Strezi, nažalost, nije proučen onako kako zaslužuje. Trebalo bi istodobno u cijelosti objaviti latinsko izdanje i hrvatski prijevod jer je riječ o najstarijem gospodarskom dokumentu o odnosima vlastelina i podložnika u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj. Dakako, on nije bio dugo u upotrebi pa je i izmakao pozornosti kasnijih vjekova kada je taj teritorij potpadao pod Varaždinski generalat, jer nije više imao praktične vrijednosti, kao što to nije imao ni Iločki statut, budući da su pavlini s tih prostora nestali tijekom osmanlijskih osvajanja, a u vrijeme Josipa II. nestali su i pavlini iz Lepoglave. To je razlika između ovog urbara i istarskih urbara koji su se dugo koristili, jer turska osvajanja gotovo da i nisu poremetila život na njihovu prostoru, iako su bolesti, a osobito kuga, decimirale više puta i stanovništvo Istre.

Urbar u Strezi potječe iz 1477. godine i stariji je od modruškog urbara iz 1486., ali nešto mlađi od brubanskog urbara iz 1453. godine.¹⁵ Vrijedan je zbog još jednog razloga. Naime, on je jedini urbar za posjed koji su vodili pavlini po uzoru na svjetovni veleposjed, te su se tako i ponašali, kao veleposjednici, a prior je bio onaj koji je o svemu odlučivao i možemo ga izjednačiti s vlastelinom.

Naš urbar pod nazivom "Registrum super privilegiorum omnium possessionis claustrum fratrum heremitarum de Streza" čuva se u Arhivu Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u obliku male, očito naknadno uvezane, knjižice, pa su prvo objavljeni posjedi, a onda urbar.¹⁶

Knjižica se, naime, sastoji od dva dijela: urbara i popisa posjeda.

Situation with Streza urbar is unclear. Unfortunately, the urbar is yet to be treated with importance it deserves. There is still no publication with parallel Latin original and its Croatian translation. It is, after all, the oldest document of economic relevance, describing the feudal relations of serfs and nobility in northern Croatia. Of course, it was not in use for a long period, and thus escaped the attention in later periods, when this territory was a part of Varaždin military order. It was then of no practical value, just as Ilok statutes lacked, since the local Pauline order disappeared from this region, fleeing the Ottomans, and the Paulines from Lepoglava did the same during the reign of Josip II.

This makes the difference from this urbar to Istria peninsula urbars, which were being used for a much longer period, as Turks' conquests virtually left them unharmed (while diseases, plague in particular, cut down the population of Istria many times).

Streza urbar dates back to 1477 and is older than Modruški urbar of 1486, yet a bit younger Brubanski urbar of 1453.¹⁵ Still, Streza urbar has another value for us. This is the only urbar for a church, Pauline order estate, drafted in a secular wording and manner; the Paulines treated it accordingly, acting as nobility to their serfs; their prior was the one to make all decisions, which equals him to a landlord of a secular estate.

Our urbar is titled "Registrum super privilegiorum omnium possessionis claustrum fratrum heremitarum de Streza". It is being kept at Croatian academy of sciences and arts, as a small (bound in a book at a later stage) booklet, listing the land plots first, and then the actual urbar regulations.¹⁶

The booklet is comprised of 2 parts: the actual urbar regulations and the land plots listings.

¹⁵ N. KLAJČ, O razvitku..., 40 i 43.

¹⁶ Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu, sig. II b. 8. Privilegia claustrum de Streza.

¹⁵ N. KLAJČ, On development..., 40 and 43.

¹⁶ Archives of Croatian academy of sciences and arts in Zagreb, sig. II b.8, Privilegia claustrum de Streza

Urbar se dijeli na šest odsjeka:

- I. O prihodima imanja uopće
(*De proventibus in communi*);
- II. O selima i kmetskim selištima, koja spadaju pod vlast samostana
(*De villis et sessionibus, earumque serviciis*);
- III. O gornici ili vinskoj devetini
(*De montanis sive terragiis vinearum*);
- IV. O samostanskim šumama i njihovim prihodima
(*De silvis et proventibus earum*);
- V. O oranicama, livadama i vinogradima koji se obrađuju u vlastitoj režiji samostana, tj. o takozvanom alodiju
(*De vineis, terris et pratis ad claustrum pertinentibus*);
- VI. O slobostinama koje uživaju pojedini podanici, te o ugovorima koji su sklopljeni za uživanje zemlje sa strancima koji su došli izvana
(*De libertatibus et compositionibus factis cum colonis qui de novo venerunt ad possessiones nostras*).

1. Prihodi samostana od podložnika

Samostan u Strezi bio je oslobođen plaćanja državnog poreza "dimnice." No, kako se ne bi položaj kmeta u Strezi razlikovao od kmeta na drugim veleposjedima, pavlini su prisiljavali svoje podložnike da plaćaju dimnicu, te su je koristili za korist samostana, a urbar spominje da su tako činili i drugi samostani.

Tlaka (Gospodchyna)

Svaki korisnik selišta bio je obavezan na tlaku o svojoj hrani. Jedno selište Streze, prema urbaru, ima od 14 do 24 jutara, prema kvaliteti zemlje.

1. Za takvo selište kmet je morao svake godine, svih 12 mjeseci, davati po dva težaka. U

The urbar is divided into 6 chapters:

- I. Review of all estate revenues
(*De proventibus in communi*);
- II. Review of hamlets and homesteads under the convent's authority
(*De villis et sessionibus, earumque serviciis*);
- III. Review of hills and wine one-ninth contributions
(*De montanis sive terragiis vinearum*);
- IV. Review of convent's forests and woods contributions and revenues
(*De silvis et proventibus earum*);
- V. Review of plough - fields, meadows and vineyards being farmed by the convent itself, so - called alodium
(*De vineis, terris et pratis ad claustrum pertinentibus*);
- VI. Review of liberties bestowed upon certain subjects, and of land sub-lease contracts with strangers coming from outside
(*De libertatibus et compositionibus factis cum colonis qui de novo venerunt ad possessiones nostras*);

1. Revenues made from the convent's subjects

Streza convent itself was exempt from state taxes "dimnica" (chimney stacks excise). However, the Pauline order forced its subjects to pay this tax, in order to keep the same level of taxes with other serfs on other estates, who were paying the same tax. Paulines used this revenue for the convent's benefit, as the urbar advises other convents did.

Labor obligation (so-called "Gospodchyna")

Each homestead serf had a duty of labor, providing his own food. A typical Streza homestead was 14 - 24 acres, depending on land quality.

1. Each year a homestead like this was bound to provide 2 laborers throughout the year. Both

vrijeme žetve ili košnje koncentrirala se tlaka, pa bi tada selište davalo i 4-5 težaka tjedno, ali s ogradaom da nitko ne može tjedno raditi više od tri dana kako bi imali dovoljno snage i vremena obraditi i svoju zemlju. Siročad i udovice te posve osiromašeni kmetovi bili su oslobođeni tlake.

2. Osim dva težaka, selište je moralo izorati i povlačiti 3 jutra oranica, i to u proljeće jedno jutro za jare usjeve, ljeti između Male Gospe i berbe moralo je uzorati drugo jutro, a u jesen je trebalo obraditi još jednoć isto zemljište kada su ga težaci zasijavali i sjemenjem pšenice koji je davao samostan. Za takvo oranje podložnici su se oslobađali pola dana tlake u jednom tjednu.

3. Kmetovi su morali obaviti i žetvu te je spremi u samostanska skladišta. Obično su tada i noćivali u polju dok ne obave posao.

4. Selište je moralo davati jednog kosca za košnju. Morali su i spremi sijeno i dovoziti u samostan dva voza sijena dnevno u vrijeme košnje. Iz urbara vidimo da se tijekom godine kosilo samo jednom, i to između Sv. Lovrinca i Sv. Stjepana Kralja, dakle između 10. i 20. kolovoza. U urbaru se naglašava kako se treba paziti da kmetovi ilegalno ne napasaju svoju stoku na samostanskim livadama.

5. Kmetovi su morali obraditi samostanske vinograde u potpunosti. U vrijeme berbe morali su u vinogradima i pudariti, tj. noćiti. Rad u tim alodijalnim vinogradima uračunavao se u tlaku.

6. Samostanski podložnici morali su na nalog uprave samostana biti nosioci vijesti, odnosno morali su pratiti redovnike na njihovu putovanju, što upućuje na zaključak da je putovanje bilo vrlo nesigurno, a vrijeme nemirno.

Naturalna davanja i primanja

Podložnici Streze morali su plaćati munera (časti). To su bili točno utvrđeni darovi koje su podložnici morali davati u određeno vrijeme, a ponajviše o crkvenim svetkovinama.

harvest and haymaking works were the busiest time of year, so a homestead would provide up to 4 - 5 laborers per week, but with a limit for each laborer of maximum 3-day labor a week (in order to have time and strength to work their own lands). Orphans, widows and completely impoverished serfs were exempt from labor obligation.

2. Beside 2 laborers, a homestead had a duty to work (plough and harrow) 3 acres of land each year; 1 acre was to be ploughed for early crops in Spring, another in Summer (between harvest time and Virgin Mary's Nativity day in September), and the last one in Autumn, sowing with wheat provided by the convent. Such a harvest carried a bonus of half-day release per week from labor obligation.

3. Serfs had to complete the harvest and store the crops in the convent's barns and storage rooms. They used to spend nights in the open until all work was done.

4. A homestead provided one hay-maker too. They had to reap, stack and transport 2 cartloads of hay per day during haymaking. The urbar shows, that there was only 1 haymaking activity per year, around 10-20 August (between 2 catholic holidays St. Lovrinca and St. Stjepana Kralja). It also warns that serfs should refrain from feeding their cattle off the convent's pastures and meadows.

5. Serfs had to undertake the complete tending of the convent's vineyards and during grape-picking, they also had to keep watch and guard the harvest. This alodial vineyard labor counted toward labor obligation too.

6. Convent's subjects had to provide service of travelling companions to monks and friars, carrying news too. This indicates that travel in those troubled times was dangerous and uncertain.

Obligations and receivables in nature (giving food, commodities)

Streza subjects were obliged to pay so-called "respects" (munera). These were strictly listed gifts that the convent was entitled to, mostly during church holidays and celebrations.

Prema strezinskom urbaru, darovi su se nosili redovito tri puta godišnje:

1. O Božiću kada je trebalo donijeti tri dobra kruha "bez mane", jednog kopuna i jednu svinjsku lopaticu, ako je podložnik imao svinju. Podložnici Kamena plaćali su 6 kruhova i 1 kopuna, dakle više od drugih podložnika, što je vjerojatno naslijeđeno iz vremena kada su im gospodari bili vlasnici koprivničkog vlastelinstva, pa pavlini nisu htjeli ništa mijenjati.

2. O Uskrsu podložnik opet daje tri kruha te 12 jaja ili jedan sir. Podložnici Kamena opet daju 6 kruhova i 12 jaja.

3. O Velikoj Gospi podložnici su morali dati ponovno tri kruha i 1 pile. Podložnici Kamena daju 6 kruhova.

Izvanredno su se nosili darovi:

4. Tijekom košnje svako je selište moralo dati jedan kruh, jedno pile i jedan denar. Ta je hrana i denar išao koscu, koji je obično iz selišta. Takvim načinom se izjednačilo naturalno davanje i primanje, a stanovnicima selišta je bilo u interesu da sudjeluju u košnji livada.

5. Tijekom vizitacije oca generala pavlinskog reda (*patris generalis*) svako je selište moralo dati jedan kruh, jedno pile i jednu mjeru zobi, a isto je bilo i u slučaju dolaska njegova zamjenika.¹⁷

6. Kada je kmet ženio sina, morao je dati samostanu jedan ručnik i jednu dobru pogaču, ali se mogao otkupiti i novcem. Mogućnost takve zamjene nije se spominjala kod drugih darova.

7. Svako kmetsko selište davalo je godišnje mjeru pšenice i dvije mjere zobi.

8. Podložnici koji su imali vinograd, koji je obično nastajao krčenjem šuma, 22 godine bili su oslobođeni davanja. Nakon toga, ili u slučaju da su preuzeli već uređeni vinograd, morali su davati

According to Streza urbar, these gifts were being given three times a year on regular basis:

1. Around Christmas, 3 'good' loaves of bread, 1 rooster and 1 pork shoulder butt (if subjects had pigs). Kamen serfs had to pay 6 breads and 1 rooster, thus paying more than other serfs, probably due to regulations inherited from previous land owners, which Paulines did not want to change.

2. Around Easter, a subject was obligated again to provide 3 loaves of bread, 12 eggs and 1 cheese. Again Kamen serfs pay more - 6 breads and 12 eggs.

3. Around Virgin Mary's Nativity day, serfs provided 3 breads and 1 chicken. Kamen serfs provided the same, but double quantities of bread (6 loaves) instead.

Extraordinary events, that also required food obligation, were:

4. During haymaking, each homestead had to give away 1 bread, 1 chicken and money (1 denar). It was a receivable bestowed upon a hay-making laborer, who usually originated from this particular homestead. This was a way to make a balance between giving and receiving in nature, as homestead serfs were eager to participate in hay-making of meadows.

5. During canonic visitations by Pauline order general (the order superior, *patris generalis*), each homestead had to give 1 bread, 1 chicken and 1 measuring cup of oats; the same rule applied when the order general's deputy was visiting.¹⁷

6. When a serf was marrying a son, he had to give to the convent 1 towel, and 1 'good' bread pie. However, this natural obligation was 'redeemable' or transferable into money. No such possibility was being mentioned for other natural gifts.

7. Each serfs' homestead had to provide a measuring cup of wheat, and 2 cups of oats.

8. Subjects with vineyards (usually clearing of woods, newly cultivated land) on that land had a 22-year moratorium of tax non-payment. After that period, or in case they took over a cultivated vineyard, they were obliged to contribute with

¹⁷ F. HRNČIĆ, 173; I. K. TKALČIĆ, 204.

¹⁷ F. HRNČIĆ, 173; I. K. TKALČIĆ, 204.

vinsku daću (Gornicu) koja je obično bila svako deveto vedro mošta. U urbaru se ističe da je dobro da se treći dan nakon berbe kmetskih vinograda sakupi mošt kako podložnici ne bi pokvarili vino miješajući u njega vodu. Od svakog vinograda morali su davati i jednog kopuna, i prema urbaru taj se morao dati prije berbe kako dar ne bi bio izbjegnuto. Svakako je zanimljiva i odredba da samostan daje dozvolu za početak berbe, ali to nije bilo stoga što se pazilo da grožđe bude zrelo, nego zato što se kroz tlaku tako ubrao prvo samostanski vinograd s trijeznim beračima.

Ako je vinograd pripadao strancu, nepodložniku, tada je morao, osim gornice, platiti samostanu i pet "beča" (viennenses), dva kruha ili dva solida, jednog kopuna i mjeru zobi, što se sve moglo pretvoriti i u novac.

Dakle, u urbaru je bio predviđen cijeli niz odredaba za vinograd, što znači da se vinogradarstvu u tom kraju posvećivala velika pozornost.

9. Morala se davati i desetina od svinja (decima porcorum) kao odšteta za žirenje u samostanskim alodijalnim šumama. Ako je kmet imao manje od deset svinja, tada je morao za svakog krmka godišnjaka platiti dva denara, a za svakog krmka starijeg od dvije godine četiri denara. Prior samostana određivao je u kojim će se šumama dopustiti žirenje.

10. Onaj tko je imao deset koza ili ovaca, morao je dati jednu kozu ili ovcu. Ako je imao stado manje od deset grla, tada je plaćao u ime pašarine po glavi koze ili ovce jedan denar.

Darovi su se donosili po nekom redoslijedu koji je određivao seoski starješina (villicus, knez).

Novčana davanja i primanja

Selišta su bila obavezna i na plaćanje novcem. Riječ je bila o raznim iznosima, najvjerojatnije prema veličini i vrijednosti zemljišta. Godišnje se plaćalo od 12 do 15 denara¹⁸ po selištu, polovina

wine tax (so-called 'gornica'), usually every ninth bucket of unfermented grape juice; the urbar itself suggests, that on third day following a serf's vineyard harvest, it is wise to collect grape juice tax, in order to prevent spoiling wine with water later on. Additionally, prior to vineyard harvest, each had to provide 1 rooster, in order to eliminate a possibility of this tax avoidance. An interesting observation here is, that the convent gives the permit to start a harvest, not controlling the ripeness of grapes, but sobriety of grape pickers, as the convent's vineyard was to be harvested first, before harvesters got drunk.

If a vineyard was owned by a 'foreigner', non-subject, it had to pay a so-called 'Viennese' tax (viennenses), 2 loaves of bread, 1 rooster and 1 measuring cup of oats, all transferable into money payment.

The urbar, therefore, collected a variety of definitions and regulations for a vineyard, which all indicates that wine-growing was treated with great respect.

9. A pork meat tax (decima porcorum) was another tax, as a one-tenth tax to cover for hog feeding with acorn in the convent's alodial forests. If a serf had less than 10 pigs, then for each year-old hog he had to pay 2 denari tax, while each hog, older than 2 years, carried a tax of 4 denari worth. The convent's prior decided which acorn forests would be allowed for pigs' feeding.

10. Owners of 10 goats or sheep had to give away one (either goat or a sheep). If a serf owned a herd with less than 10, then he had to pay a pasture tax of 1 denar tax per goat/sheep.

All gifts (taxes) in nature were to be delivered in some sort of a schedule, decided by village headman (villicus).

Money obligations and receivables

Homesteads were also obliged to pay money tax too. It was paid in different amounts, probably depending on size and value of land. Annual tax ranged from 12 to 15 denari¹⁸ per homestead, half

¹⁸ Jedna ugarska forinta imala je 100 denara.

¹⁸ One Hungarian forint had 100 denari.

se plaćala o Jurjevu, a druga polovica o Miholju. Jedini izuzetak bili su kmetovi sela **Kamena** koji su plaćali drugu polovicu o Martinju. To plaćanje novcem možemo smatrati svojevrsnom zemljarinom.¹⁹

Prihodi samostana od nepodložnika

Zbog postojanja brojnih napuštenih selišta prior i uprava samostana morali su davati takva zemljišta u zakup svojim podložnicima po posebnom ugovoru. Napuštene oranice davale su se na obrađivanje za sedminu koju je dotični morao vlastitim dovozom dopremiti u samostan. Livada se davala kositi "s polu", a bio je moguć i otkup u novcu od 12 denara.

U urbaru je bilo naglašeno da se zemlja ne smije dati u obrađivanje bez "protučinidbe" jer bi to izazivalo veliku zavist onih koji su bili obavezni na davanja, pri čemu vjerojatno sastavljač urbara misli i na mogućnost izbijanja bune.

Gospodarenje

Samostan je već 1477. imao poteškoća s obradom alodija zbog nedostatka radnih ruku. Stoga je morao plaćati i težake koji su mu bili potrebni. Ljeti je takav težak, nadničar, dobivao nadnicu od četiri solida (oko 2 denara), a zimi tri solida, dakako u oba slučaja bez hrane. Oranje se ljeti plaćalo 6 denara. Ako je samostan davao nadničarima hranu, tada se zarada umanjivala za jedan denar.

Samostan je bio opasan zidovima (fortalitio). Oni su se održavali iz "dimščine", (dimnice, drž. poreza), a u tom su poslu sudjelovali i susjedni plemići jer je očito blizina Osmanlija tjerala stanovnike cijeloga područja da počinju pomišljati na obranu i da se radi toga udružuju.

payable around church festivities Jurjevo (Spring), and the other half around Miholje (Autumn). The only exempt from the rule were Kamen serfs, who paid the second half around Martinje (November). This money tax could be considered as land tax.¹⁹

Convent's income from non-subjects

Due to a number of deserted homesteads, the prior and other heads of the convent had to lease such homesteads and land, giving it to those interested, under a special lease contract. Deserted plough fields were leased for a one-seventh tax, and this one-seventh was to be delivered into the convent. Meadows were leased for one-half (of hay), also redeemable in money, and amounting to 12 denari tax.

The urbar stated that no land was leased without "counter-payment", as this would cause envy from those forced to pay taxes in nature, and possibly a riot.

Organization of convent's economy

As early as 1477, the convent had difficulties in alodium land cultivation, as they were lacking labor hands. This was why the convent had to hire laborers and pay them. During summertime, such a day-laborer made a wage of 4 solids (around 2 denari); in wintertime, a day's pay was about 3 solids, without food in both cases. Land plough paid 6 denari (in summertime). If the convent provided food, then 1 denar would be deducted.

The convent was fortified with outer walls (fortalitio). Walls were rebuilt and kept in shape from income earned from 'dimnica' (chimney stacks excise) state tax, but others, like next-door nobility also contributed, as the Ottomans' closeness kept the entire population joined in defense preparations.

¹⁹ F. HRNČIĆ, 172 - 173.

¹⁹ F. HRNČIĆ, 172 - 173.

Zbog straha od Osmanlija život se počeo mijenjati i na samostanskom imanju te u urbaru nalazimo odredbu da stranci, ako se nastane u gradu, moraju svoju imovinu čuvati u posebnim spremištima, ali moraju održavati i dio samostanskog zida (fortalicii) u blizini svojih spremišta. Pri tome je bilo posebno napomenuto kako treba paziti da stranci ne pretvaraju spomenuta spremišta u gostionice te su oni morali obećavati da to neće činiti.

Kontrolu nad kmetovima i uopće poslovima samostan je obavljao preko posebnih službenika koji su vršili naplatu i u svemu pomagali prioru.

U urbaru u Strezi iz 1477. nalazimo dvije vrste takvih službenika:

- seoski knezovi (villici)
- lugari.

Seoski knezovi bili su spona između samostanskog priora i podložnika. Knez se obično birao na dan Sv. Jurja, i to između boljih i uglednijih ljudi. Prior bi izabrao kneza iz redova onih koji su se ponudili za tu službu, birajući najboljeg. Ako je knez bio vjeran samostanu i brižan s težacima, mogao je službu dulje obavljati, ali je svake godine o Jurjevu prior morao saslušati pritužbe na rad kneza te bi ih ili uvažio ili odbacio kao neosnovane.

Knez je imao dosta posla. Morao je kontrolirati težake na polju. Trebao je paziti i na njihovo dolično ponašanje, tj. da se ne koriste ružnim riječima. Upotreba ružnih riječi plaćala se jednu marku, tj. 60 denara, što je bila ogromna svota, a ako to osuđeni ne bi htio platiti, stavljali bi ga u kladu, što je bilo vrlo opasno po zdravlje. Prema tome, uzrečica "ne psuj" nije u Podravini novijeg datuma.

Dakako da je seoskom knezu bilo u interesu da prior bude zadovoljan njegovim radom jer je taj položaj donosio određene prednosti. Na dan Sv. Margarete, kada se održavao godišnji sajam pred samostanom, dobivao je od svakih kola natovarenih lončarijom jedan lonac. U urbaru se nastoji pokazati da je i to pravo samostansko, pa je knez morao ubrane lonce dati prvo samostanu koji

Due to fears from the Ottomans, life changed in the convent's estate too. The urbar decreed, that outsiders and foreigners who established local residence, had to keep their valuables in separate storage, and to participate in maintenance of the convent's outer walls (fortalicii), close to their storage. The urbar prohibits that these storage facilities are turned into inns or alehouses, and such foreigners had to promise to honor this provision.

The convent conducted a control of its serfs, and all affairs were supervised by their hired clerks, bailiffs, who collected taxes and helped the prior.

In 1477 Streza urbar we find 2 types of bailiffs here:

- village headmen (villici)
- foresters and game-keepers.

Village headmen were liaisons between the convent's prior and convent's subjects. Village heads were usually appointed on St. George's day, among better-off, or more prominent inhabitants. The prior would appoint a headman from those applying for the position, usually nominating the best candidate. If the appointee was devoted to the convent and his service, yet caring for the serfs under him, he could stay in service for a longer period. Still, each year the convent's prior would listen to complaints about his work, either accepting or refusing complaints as groundless.

A headman usually had plenty of work. He had to perform supervision and control of fieldwork. He also watched serfs' behavior as their foul language was fined with 1 mark (60 denari) penalty for swearing and cursing. This was a huge fine, and if the convicted could not pay, he was put in the stocks, which endangered his health very much. This is why the proverb "ne psuj!" (don't curse!) is well-grounded in Podravina region, dating a way back.

Of course, a village headman tried to make the prior happy with his work, as the job carried certain privileges. On St. Margaret's day, during the annual fair outside the convent, he was entitled 1 jug from each pottery wagon. This proved the convent's right on proceeds from trade too: village headman was bound to gather all the pottery

bi ih onda vraćao knezu, probavši si eventualno koji potreban komad. Dakle, pokazuje se "princip vlasti" na sve načine.

Lugari potvrđuju da se velika pozornost posvećivala samostanskim šumama. Oni su svaki tjedan morali obići samostanske šume, a ujedno su morali čuvati oranice i livade, te su dakle bili i poljari. Zauzvrat su bili oslobođeni davanja jednog težaka na tjedan, a nisu trebali davati ni daće u novcu niti u naturi. Bilo im je oprošteno i davanje državnog poreza.

U samostanskim šumama steta se posebno naplaćivala. Za posječeni hrast plaćalo se pola forinte (50 denara). Trećina te svote išla je kao nagrada lugaru.

Urbar iz 1477. sadrži niz odredbi koje su važne za našu spoznaju o tome kako je samostan funkcionirao. Među njima je i odredba da se u slučaju kmeta koji dugo nije platio svoje obveze uzme u obzir njegovo siromaštvo i postupa milosrdno, a najbolje je da se uzme u račun vino u vrijeme berbe. Dakle, očito je da je bilo dosta onih koji nisu davali vlastelinstvu u Strezi sve što su morali, a vino je ipak bilo ono čega se podložnik mogao lakše odreći nego kruha ili mesa.

Urbar ima aneks, pripis koji počinje u vrijeme pisanja urbara i nastavlja se sve do približno 1538. godine. Tu su navedena sela i selišta te imena podložnika i zakupnika, kao i pojedinačni odnosi. Očuvan je i jedan posebni popis u ispravi od 29. VIII. 1495., koji R. Pavleš datira u 1477. godinu,²⁰ te jedan popis iz 1439. sa 130 imena naselja. Mislim da je postojala kraljevska naredba da se popišu mjesta tog područja, jer bez evidencije

he collected and submit it to the convent; after some pots and jugs were chosen and kept for the convent use, the remaining ones were returned to the headman, who profited in the end, too. This reaffirms the principle of 'governing powers' in several ways.

Existence of foresters (game keepers) shows that convent took great care of its forests and woods. These foresters had to walk every wood and forest each week, keeping plough - fields and meadows from unauthorized use, thus serving as field keepers too. In return, they were exempt from giving labor obligation per week, they did not have to pay money or natural taxes either, plus they were exempt from state tax.

The convent charged everyone for forest damages. For each oak tree, that was cut down, a person had to pay half a forint (50 denari). A third of this sum went to the forester as his reward.

1477 urbar has a number of regulations of importance and relevance, that helps us understand the way this convent functioned. One of them is a regulation, that if a certain serf failed to pay his duties and taxes for a longer period, then his poverty status had to be taken into consideration, and that he was treated with mercy during tax collection (suggested collection to suit him best was wine tax during grape harvest). Therefore, it is obvious that there were a number of subjects, unable to pay taxes in Streza. However, taking away wine from them was the best way, as subjects could live more easily without wine than food or meat.

This urbar has an annex, an amendment that had started off at the time of urbar drafting until around 1538. This annex lists all villages and homesteads, with all the names of subjects, tenants and lease - holders, listing also their individual relations. A listing, dating 29 August, 1495 has been saved too /R.Pavleš dates this to 1477,²⁰ as well as a listing from 1439, with names of 130 villages and settlements. Presumably, there was a royal edict to record and list names of all settle-

²⁰ Pavleš 10. Ovaj popis nalazi se u Arhivu HAZU pod sig. D-X-76.

²⁰ Pavleš 10. This list is archived with Croatian academy of sciences and arts in Zagreb, sig.D-X-76.

mjesta vladala je u posjedovnim odnosima prevelika anarhija koja je obezvređivala i kraljevsku vlast. U spomenutom aneksu se poimence spominju selišta i podložnici te zakupnici do približno 1538. godine. Iz aneksa se s obzirom da bi lježi promjene, može nazrijeti i kako je dobro funkcioniralo. U vrijeme nastanka ovog aneksa mnoga su već selišta bila napuštena i upravo u potvrdi katastrofalnog položaja crkvenog veleposjeda na početku 16. stoljeća donosimo samo neke podatke, koji govore o premalom broju obrađivača i zemlje i vinograda da bi se crkveni veleposjed mogao održati.²¹

U Jakopovczu je bilo 13 selišta, ali ih je pet bilo napušteno. Kao podložnici ili zakupnici spominju se Mahtesich, Gvrychin, Jarenych, Thoma Sependio, Stefanych, Popsich, Bachavecz, Glagyno i Clementis.

U Hrovathschini su postojala tri selišta i četiri kurije i sve je bilo napušteno.

U Rometynczu su postojala 24 selišta, a nekoliko ih je već bilo napušteno. Podložnici su bili Mrakoichi, sinovi Fabiana Elie, selište Blasa Hodchecz, Gyvrorycha (Gwrenycha), Ztankonisa, Martina Kolovoza, Nicolaia Napekoza, selište Capistranovih sinova, selište Matheia Horvata, Valentina Capistranycha, selište koje drže Dionisije i Antonio Gyvren, selište Keleka Capistrana, selište Naplata, selište Stephana Molendinatorija, selište Blasias Kohnasa, selište Marca Czala, selište Stephana Mahtesicha, selište Dionisija, selište Bertola, selište Demetrija Capistrana, selište Haracha i selište Georgii koje sada drže sinovi Harachovi.

U Bukoyini je bilo devet selišta, ali većina je napuštena dok neki drže dva selišta. Spominju se imena Zmokoichi, kovač Blasius, Mathei Biscup i Benedict Vrasich.

Mykchevsyna je bila alodij sa sedam selišta i osam kurija u kojoj obitava Michael Chronchich.

U Ilynczu je bilo osam selišta i devet kurija, a većina selišta imala je zakupnika. Spominju se selišta Elije Kovacha, Michaelis Prehoricha,

ments in this region, as lack of records encouraged anarchy and diminished the royal rule. The above mentioned annex listed individually all the homesteads, serfs, subjects, tenants and leaseholders all the way up to 1538. As the annex was recording changes and amendments, now it's a useful tool and insight into organization and evidence how it all worked well. At the time this annex was drafted, many homesteads had already been deserted. As a proof of disastrous situation this church estate fell in the beginning of 16th century, the following data will show too small a number of laborers in fields and in vineyards, so the estate was barely sustaining itself.²¹

In the village of Jakopovecz, 5 homesteads out of 13 were abandoned. Listed subjects or leaseholders are families of Mahtesich, Jarenych, of Thoma Sependio, Stefanych, Popsich, Bachavecz, Glagyno, Clementis.

In Hrovathschina, there were 3 homesteads and 4 manors - all deserted.

In Rometyncz, out of 24 homesteads, several already deserted, the following subjects were listed: Mrakoich, sons of Fabian Elia, homestead of Blas Hodchecz, Gyvrorych (Gwrenych), Ztankonis, Martin Kolovoz, Nicolai Napekoz, homestead of Capistran's sons, homestead of Mathei Horvat, Valentin Capistranych, homestead held by Dionisije and Antonio Gyvren, homestead of Kelek Capistran, Naplata homestead, Stephan Molendinatoria, homestead of Blas Kohnas, Marco Czal, Stephan Mahtesich, Dionisio's homestead, homestead of Bertol, of Demetrio Capistran, Harach, Georgii (held by Harach).

In Bukovina, out of 9 homesteads most of them were abandoned, while some held two at a time. Names mentioned here include Zmokoich, Blasius, the blacksmith, Mathei Biscup, Benedict Vrasich.

Mykchevsyna was alodium with 7 homesteads and 8 manors, held by Michael Chronchich

Ilyncz had 8 homesteads and 9 manors, but most homesteads had leaseholders. Names mentioned here included Elia Kovach, Michaelis

²¹ I. K. TKALČIĆ, 207 - 219.

²¹ I. K. TKALČIĆ, 207 - 219.

Valentina Seselicha, Andreija Jahchenaka, Tome Sulka, selište Testamentovo; selišta Santechiczama.

U Kamenom je bilo osam selišta i samo su dva napuštena, što je dokaz da je to područje bilo sigurnije od drugih. Prvo selište držao je Gregorius Czal, drugo je obrađivao Paulynzki, treće Emricus, četvrto Nicolai, peto Johannis Haznos. Šesto selište Paulynzkija je napušteno, kao i sedmo Figkovskija, dok su osmo držali Rigynzki i Ivka Pvhavzka.

U selu Torynczi bilo je četrnaest sesija, a postojala je i jedna šuma. Polovica je sesija bila napuštena. Selište su napustili Mathei Krohen, Thomas Hraga, Vidvzko, Georgius Hrovah, Matey Gona, Matey Ragunych, Antonius Krohen, Johannis Lysko, Nicolai Sczamar i Petrus Nalepek, ali se kao zakupnici spominju Ferenchich, Stepahnus Maydich, Andreas, Ivan Pagina i Munak.

Vinograde na brdu Jakopovczu obrađivali su Antonius Plantich, Philippus Gallus, Georgius Kronewsecz, Vrbanus, Blasius Croatus, Petrus i Jeronimo Filipoich, Petrus Filipoich i Valentino Croato, Martinus Kolovoz, Marcus Czal, Blasius Kyhnas, Thomas Sependia, Elias Fabiani, Demetrius Napokoz, Stephanus Mathesich, Blasek, Tomas Godecz, (nije morao ništa plaćati do 1503. godine) i Antonius Gvren. Dakle, ponavljaju se već spomenuta prezimena, što znači da su neke osobe bile čvrsto vezane uz samostan.

Na brdu Heremiti ili Remetynzke gorycze obavezu davanja vina imali su Valentinus Carystranich, Emericus i Joannes, Elias Mahtesych s majkom, Margareta sa Stefanom, Marcus Guren, Benedictus Mrakoich, Antonius Turk, plebanus Ztrezetynch, Martinus Capystranych, Thoma Godecz, Bertola, sinovi Haracha i Nicolaus Napokoz.

Na brdu Svetog Benedikta ili Bedenychke Gorycze na davanje vina bili su obavezni Stefanus molendinator, Petrus Vrassich i Johann Horvat, Johannes Turk, Demetrius Peuchecz, Stefanus Prelich, Thomas Benoich, Blasius Hilchich, plebanuš s. Benedicta, Stefanus Prelich i Tomas

Prehoricha, Valentin Seselich, Andrei Jahchenak, Tomo Sulk, homestead of Testament, and of Santechiczam.

Kamenno had 8 homesteads but only 2 were deserted, which proves this area was more secure than others. The first homestead was held by Gregorius Czal, second by Paulynzki, third by Emricus, fourth by Nicolai, fifth by Johannis Haznos, sixth by Paulynzki (abandoned), seventh by Figkovski (abandoned), eighth was held by Rigynski and Ivka Pvhavzka.

Torynczi village had 14 homesteads (half of them deserted) and 1 forest. The following families abandoned their homesteads: Mathei Krohen, Thomas Hraga, Vidvzko, Georgius Hrovah, Matey Gona, Matey Ragunych, Antonius Krohen, Johannis Lysko, Nicolai Sczamar, Petrus Nalepek. However, the list contains the names of new lease - owners: Ferenchich, Stepahnus Maydich, Andreas, Ivan Pagina and Munak.

Vineyards on Jakopovcz hill were worked by the following families: Antonius Plantich, Philippus Gallus, Georgius Kronewsecz, Vrbanus, Blasius Croatus, Petrus and Jeronimo Filipoich, Petrus Filipoich and Valentino Croato, Martinus Kolovoz, Marcus Czal, Blasius Kyhnas, Thomas Sependia, Elias Fabiani, Demetrius Napokoz, Stephanus Mathesich, Blasek, Tomas Godecz (who was exempt from taxes until 1503), and Antonius Gvren. However, some family names are repeated, which indicates that some individuals were closely tied to the convent.

The hills of Heremiti and Remetynzke gorycze had vineyards with the following individuals who had wine tax obligation: Valentinus Carystranich, Emericus and Joannes, Elias Mahtesych with his mother, Margareta with Stefan, Marcus Guren, Benedictus Mrakoich, Antonius Turk, Plebanus Ztrezetynch, Martinus Capystranych, Thoma godecz, sons of Harach, Nicolaus Napokoz.

The hills of St. Benedict or Bedenychke Gorycze had vineyards with the following individuals who had wine tax obligation: Stefanus Molendinator, Petrus Vrassich and Johann Horvat, Johannes Turk, Demetrius Peuchecz, Stefanus Prelich, Thomas Benoich, Blasius Hilchich, Plebanuš St. Benedict, Stefanus Prelich and

Benoich, Matez Tykocih, Joannes Wgrin, Blasius Kohnas (1500. dobio je vinograd i trebao biti oslobođen 12 godina, ali vinograd je bio napušten), Georgius Horvatic, Gregorius de Suyztavec, Stefanus Horvat, Dionisius, Michael Nabit, Stefanus Naplat i Martinus Capistranich.

Na brdu **Torynzka** vinograde su obrađivali Michael Hanza, Stephanus Magdych, Valentinus Ferenchych, Michael Bukovecz i Stephanus Hrosych.

Samostanski posjed u Strezi imao je deset šuma: Hraztyna, Jakopowchyna, Gora, Jankovecz, Hrovatchyna, Candolovchyna, Dyczchyna, s. Benedictum, Ilynech te malu šumu pokraj alodiuma.

Taj aneks sadrži i imena onih koji su došli na posjed i pod kojim uvjetima, kao i popis pavlina i priora. To je, dakle, svojevrsna kratka kronika rada tog pavlinskog samostana do njegova raspusta.

Zaključak

1. Urbar Streze iz 1477. čuva se u Arhivu Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu. Riječ je o prvorazrednom dokumentu za poznavanje posjedovnih odnosa, koji je ujedno i inventar pavlinskog crkvenog veleposjeda, a vrijednost mu je prevelika i stoga što se sadržaj može upotrijebiti očuvanim dokumentima iz arhiva pavlinskog samostana Streze, koji su završili u arhivi lepoglavskog samostana u komorskoj arhivi.

Prvo objavljivanje urbara Streze iz 1477. izvršio je Ivan Tkalčić Krstitelj još 1903. godine, dakako bez prijevoda na hrvatski jezik. S obzirom na to kako su Gorani i Primorci ponosni na svoj Modruški urbar i Vinodolski zakonik, mislim da bismo i mi ovom najstarijem dokumentu koji govori o zemljišnim odnosima u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj morali posvetiti veću pozornost i prirediti njegovo zadovoljavajuće objavljivanje.

2. Položaj podložnika prema upravi samostana se veoma razlikovao, što je posljedica uvećanja samostanske zemlje tijekom duljeg vremena s obavezom preuzimanja i danih slobodina ili prava, pa i obaveza. Samostan se uvećavao pros-

Tomas Benoich, Matez Tykocih, Joannes Wgrin, Blasius Kohnas (was given the vineyard, exempt from wine tax for duration of 12 years, yet he abandoned it), Georgius Horvatic, Gregorius de Suyztavec, Stefanus Horvat, Dionisius, Michael Nabit, Stefanus Naplat, Martinus Capistranich.

The hill of Torynzka with the following individuals who had wine tax obligation: Michael Hanza, Stephanus Magdych, Valentinus Ferenchych, Michael Bukovecz, Stephanus Hrosych.

The Streza convent owned 10 forests: Hraztyna, Jakopowchyna, Gora, Jankovecz, Hrovatchyna, Candolovchyna, Dyczchyna, S.Benedictum, Ilynech, and some small woods near the alodium land.

Conclusion

1. Streza urbar of 1477 is kept at the Croatian academy of sciences and arts archives in Zagreb. This is a document of utmost importance and value to distinguish land ownership of that time, serving at the same time as an inventory of Pauline order church estate. Its value is also enormous to the fact, that it can be matched with auxiliary documents from the convent's archives, that were moved and kept at Lepoglava convent. The first-ever publication of 1477 Streza urbar was made by Ivan Tkalčić Krstitelj in 1903 in Latin (naturally, without Croatian translation. If we consider that some other parts of Croatia (Primorje and Gorski kotar regions) take pride in their own medieval documents, like Morduški urbar and the Statute of Vinodol, I believe we should properly evaluate our oldest document that regulated land registry and ownership in northern Croatia, providing more attention and a proper publication.

2. Convent's subjects differed greatly in view of their respective relations with the convent. This came as a result from various purchases or acquiring through legates, where the convent took over lands together with their serfs and tenants, their different individual rights, duties and obligations. The convent enlarged its estate with various land plots, scattered around the Koprivnica and

torno zemljom dosta razasutom na području koprivničkog i đurđevačkog vlastelinstva. Često ta darovana zemljišta nije bilo moguće povezati, pa je i gospodarenje njima bilo neracionalno, vrlo otežano i radi toga je trebalo davati posebne ustupke da zemlja ne ostane neobrađena.

3. Selišta su u trećini već u vrijeme formuliranja urbara iz 1477. bila napuštena, što znači da se preferirala obrada alodijuma, tj. zemlje koja se obrađivala direktno pod upravom i u režiji samostana. Na taj način dakako da je bilo moguće obrađivati samo zemlju u blizini samostana, dok je ona udaljenija jedva bila pod nekakvom kontrolom samostana i s njom je prior imao mnogo poteškoća ako je želio da mu bude korisna.

4. Teška i nesigurna vremena omogućila su najhrabrijim podložnicima da zaposjednu prazna selišta i obrađuju ih uz manje obaveze, nadajući se od toga vjerojatno određenoj koristi.

5. Na osnovi istraživanja samostana u Strezi ruski povjesničar J. V. Bromlej zaključio je da je radna renta na tom posjedu početkom 15. stoljeća predstavljala osnovnu formu feudalne eksploatacije te da se ona smanjuje do potkraj XV. stoljeća kako bi se uvećala "produktivnost seljačkog rada". Mislim da to njegovo gledište nije uvjerljivo.²² Smanjivanje rente bilo je prouzročeno nuždom. Rentu su pavlini smanjivali kako zemlja ne bi ostajala pusta, a ne zbog prijelaza na novčanu rentu. Svakako da taj fenomen upozorava na posebne prilike na podravskom prostoru gdje dolazi do velikog napuštanja selišne zemlje, koja se onda daje u zakup za jednu sedminu, što je trebalo biti vrlo privlačno, ali ipak nije bilo. Zašto? Vijesti o osmanlijskim osvajanjima svakako su već stizale i do ravnica, ali i brežuljkastih dijelova strezanskog samostana. Zbog traženja sigurnijih krajeva za život i rad učestalo je bježanje stanovništva na zapad i sjever. Mađarski povje-

đurđevac area and nobility who lived there. Very often so donated lands were impossible to interconnect, and management of scattered lands was hard, often irrational and required giving concessions in order to keep the lands cultivated.

3. At the time of urban drafting in 1477, one third of all homesteads were being abandoned, which means that villagers preferred alodium lands to homestead farming. This meant a direct lease from the convent and their organization of land work. But this was possible only on lands around the convent, while the more distant plots of land had been under loose supervision by the convent, and the prior had difficulties making those lands useful.

4. Hard and uncertain times enabled those subjects with enough courage to occupy abandoned, now vacant homesteads, farming them with less taxes and lesser lease rent, in hope of certain gains.

5. A Russian historian J. V. Bromlej undertook a research of Streza convent and came to a conclusion, that their labor obligation represented the basic form of feudal exploitation, which by the end of 15th century decreased, promoting in this way "improved productivity of peasant's work". I find this conclusion unconvincing.²²

Decrease of lease rent and taxes was, in fact, forced. The Pauline order decreased lease rent in order to keep lands cultivated, saved from desertion, not because of switching from rent in nature to rent in money. Indeed this phenomenon indicated special circumstances in Podravina region (serfs abandoning their homesteads in great numbers); such deserted land was afterwards given for a one-seventh lease, which was supposed to attract new tenants, but it did not. Why? News of further Ottoman conquests were reaching lowlands and foothills of Streza convent. In search of more secure and safer areas to live and work, population fled the region more frequently further up

²² J. V. BROMLEJ, "Krestjanskoje vosstanie 1573. g. v Horvatii", izd. Akademia nauk SSSR, Moskva 1959., 141, 143. Citirano prema: N. KLAJČ, O razvitku, n.dj., 44.

²² J. V. BROMLEJ, "Krestjanskoje vosstanie 1573 v Horvatii" (Christian uprising in 1573 in Croatia), issue USSR Academy of sciences, Moscow, 1959, 141, 143, quoted according to N. KLAJČ, on development, 44.

sničar. J. Pach misli da su seljaci napuštali selišta zbog razvijanja robne proizvodnje.²³ Mislim da se to ne može odnositi na Strezu, nego da razlog leži u prednacima rata, iako su neki dijelovi samostanskog posjeda još pružali veliku sigurnost. Vijesti o osmanlijskim osvajanjima stizale su i do ravnica i do brežuljkastih i šumama zaraslih dijelova tog posjeda. Neki došljaci koji su se sklanjali na samostansko dobro, pa su ušli i u urbar, očito su već imali bliski susret s nasilnim neprijateljem. Učestalo je bježanje stanovništva iz ravnica na zapad i sjever, a možda bi daljnja istraživanja arhivske dokumentacije arhive pavlinskih samostana potvrdila da je upravo u okolici Bjelovara počeo proces koji je kasnije zahvatio cijelu Banovinu gdje je stanovništvo, predvođeno Zrinskima, otišlo u Međimurje i Gradište. Socijalna nesigurnost postajala je svaki dan sve veća i ona je uvjetovala ponašanje onih koji su se bavili poljoprivredom jer u vrijeme rata u krajevima kroz koji prolaze vojske ostaje samo pustoš.

Rezime

Oko 1370. osnovan je pavlini samostan u Strezi sjeverno od Bjelovara. Kraljevom potvrdom, a i kasnijim darivanjima i legatima uglednih ljudi, taj je samostan postao središte velikog crkvenog posjeda, ali zbog posebnih okolnosti, izazvanih približavanjem osmanlijske opasnosti, nikad nije razvio onaj kulturni utjecaj koji je ostvarila Lepoglava.

Međutim, zahvaljujući odredbi priora Pavla, 1477. godine izrađen je urbar koji određuje gotovo sve odnose između samostanskih podanika i uprave samostana.

north and west. A Hungarian historian J. Pach thinks, that serfs and peasants were leaving their homesteads due to increased manufacture and trading of goods.²³ I believe this cannot apply to Streza estate, as reasons lie in signs and portents of an upcoming war, even though some lands of the convent still provided safety to their inhabitants. Some newcomers to the estate, fleeing the violent Ottomans from other regions (now registered by the urbar as new tenants) obviously had previous bad experiences with the enemy. Fleeing of population further west and north was more frequent now; possible new research of Pauline convents' archives might prove that indeed it was the area of Bjelovar where this process had been initiated; later on, depopulation process engulfed the whole Banovina, where the entire population, led by Zrinski nobility, left for Međimurje and Gradište. Social instability increased by day, and influenced the behavior of farming population, as ongoing war activities left devastation wherever armies marched.

Summary

Around 1370, a Pauline order convent had been established in Streza (between Koprivnica and Bjelovar). Initially through a royal charter, and later on by legates and donations of established individuals, the convent became a center of a large church estate. Due to specific circumstances, the Ottoman threat and upcoming war, it failed to develop a cultural influence in society, as it happened around other Pauline convent in Lepoglava.

However, under a decree by convent's prior Paul, in 1477 an urbar (feudal law regulations) was drafted, which defined and specified almost every single relation between the convent and its subjects.

²³ J. PACH, Das Entwicklungsniveau der feudalen Agrarverhältnisse in Ungarn in der zweiten Hälfte des Sv. Jahrhunderts, Etude historique, I, Izd. Ugarske akademije, Budimpešta 1960., 420.

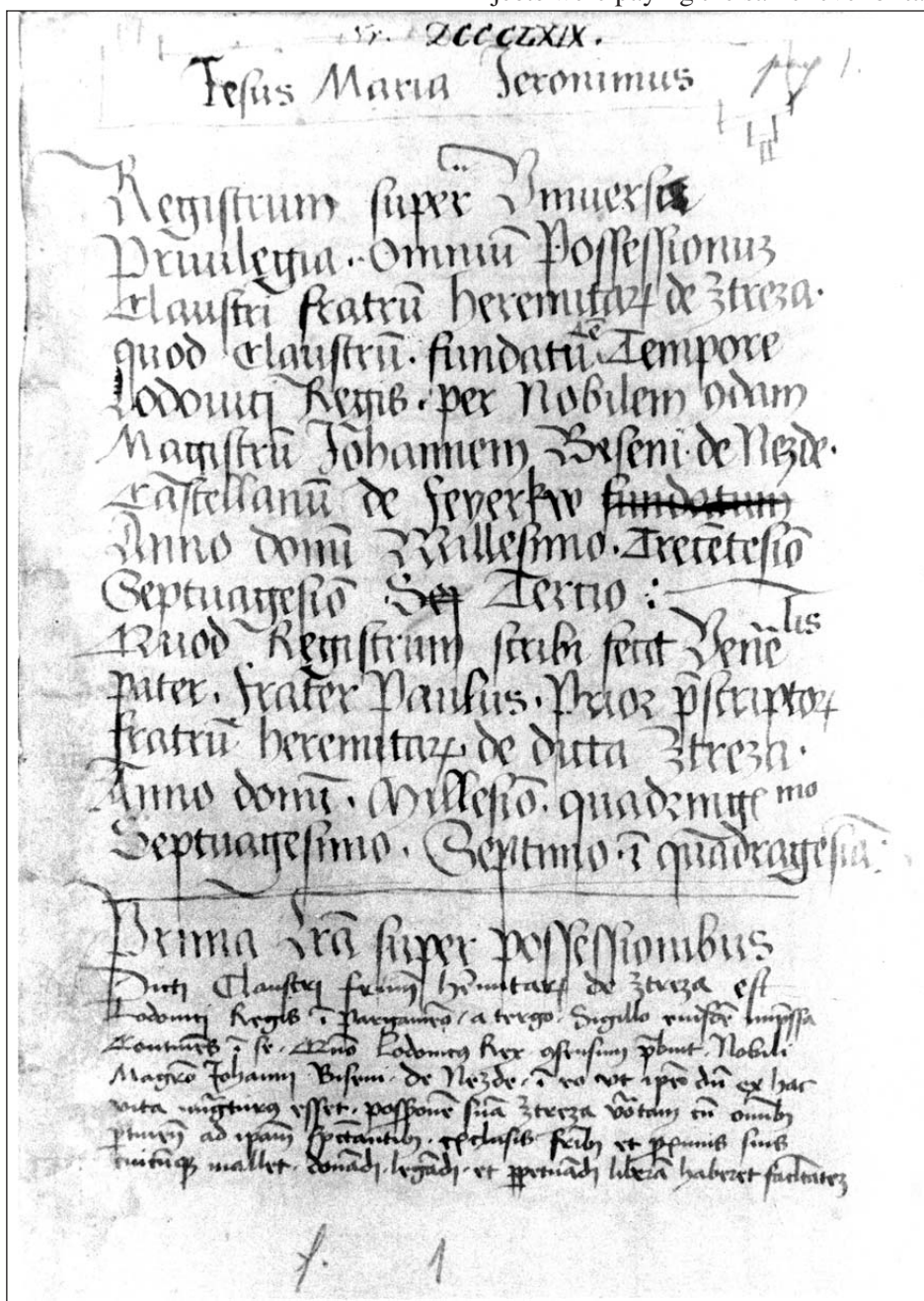
²³ J. PACH, Das Entwicklungsniveau der feudalen Agrarverhältnisse in Ungarn in der zweiten Hälfte des Sv. Jahrhunderts, Etude historique, I, issue Hungarian Academy, Budapest, 1960, 420.

Taj je urbar veoma dragocjen povijesni izvor za sjevernu Hrvatsku i vrijedan je posebne pozornosti. U urbaru se već naziru neke odredbe koje najavljuju odlazak obrađivača zemlje, a svakako pod utjecajem ratnih zbivanja na istoku.

Veoma je zanimljivo da u Strezi nisu svi podložnici bili obavezni na ista davanja te da su

This urbar is a rich and valuable historic source on northern Croatia and deserves our full attention. The urbar already specifies some provisions, that indicate land desertion and lack of cultivation labor, primarily due to upcoming Ottoman invasion from the east.

It is an interesting fact, that not all Streza subjects were paying the same level of taxes and con-



Slika 1: Prva stranica Registra samostana u Strezi u kojem se nalazi i urbar iz 1477. godine. (Arhiv HAZU)

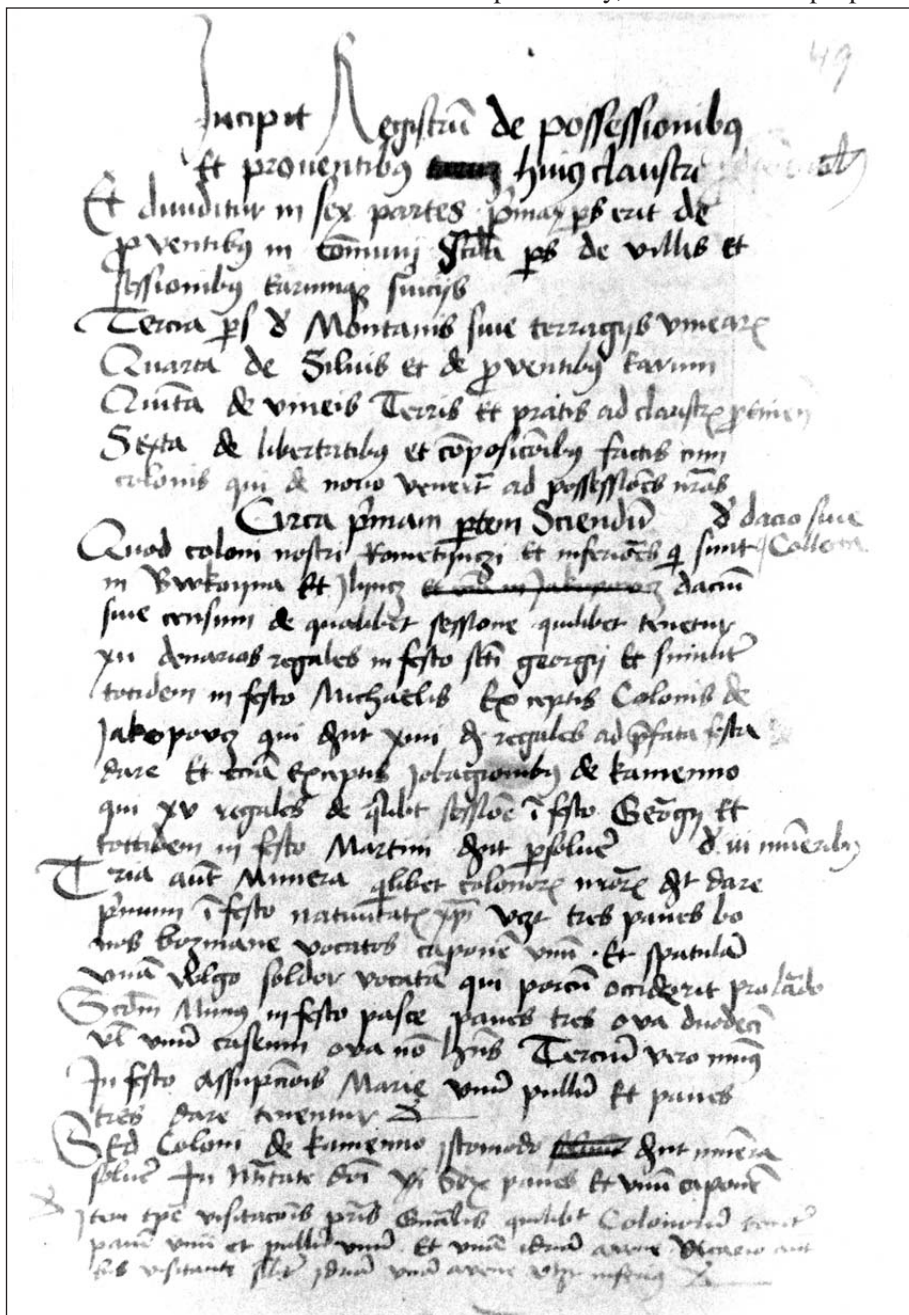
Picture 1: Front page of Streza convent register, that contained the urbar from 1477 (Croatian academy of sciences and arts, archive)

posebno mala bila davanja onih koji su se naselili na prazna selišta. Vodstvo samostana uvijek je imalo socijalnog obzira prema siromašnima, ali je i tražilo da se obaveze ispunjavaju točno i na vrijeme.

tributions. Particularly small taxes were imposed on those tenants, who moved in to previously abandoned homesteads.

The convent and its prior were always socially sensible to poverty and impoverished serfs.

However, he and the convent always insisted on due tax payments and fulfilling obligations punctually, on time and in proper amounts.



Slika 2: Početak urbara iz 1477. godine (Arhiv HAZU).

Picture 2: Initial page of 1477 urbar (Croatian academy of sciences and arts, archive).